

Surára
Pakidái

854 /64 cont. /If the child's nose is not
514 clean, the mother carefully takes it between her teeth, presses
[123] its contents into her mouth, and spits them out. The women
found it most unhygienic that I blew my nose into a handkerchief
and carried it with me.

856 The little Surára and Pakidái learn to walk and talk at the
593 same age as the children of civilization, and they are aided by
their parents, siblings, and relatives. The pleasure of the rela-
tives is great and they are overjoyed when the child is able to
stand and walk and babble its first words, nápe=mother and
hápe=father.

862 e) Name-giving

[851] After the completion of the third year, a new, important
period of life begins. The nursing period is ended, and the child,
which hitherto belonged to the flesh and blood of the mother (325b),
has become an independent human being.

851 325b. This idea is very unusual for South
846 American Indians. It should be remem-
114 bered, however, that among most of the
171 tribes the so-called couvade, the men's
842 childbed, is practiced. Karl von den
Steinen, who has examined the psycho-
logical basis of this custom, says that in
this case the child, whether it be a boy or
girl, is "the little father," so to speak, a
part of the father, that is, a bit of his body.
(K. von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 334 ff.)
"The activity of the mother in this con-
nection is compared to that of the soil,
which receives the seed." (von Spix and
von Martius, 1831, p. 1339.)

000 has become an independent human being. Now it is also given a
553 name, which is taken from the animal or vegetable kingdom. The
776 name is given to the father, when he offers his prayers in snuff-powder
• [182] intoxication, by the gigantic animal and plant spirits living on

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/64 cont. /

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high mountain ridges -- hekurá --, who represent the intermediaries to Poré and Perimbó, the joint Supreme Being of these Indians (see pp.197/199). The particular animal or plant whose name a child bears is regarded as a sort of "spiritus familiaris"

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throughout its life. This is linked to the idea that the fate of the child has now become identical in essence with them; that is to say, good fortune, but also the suffering and dying of animals and plants are transferred to the like-named human beings.

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The use of animal names corresponds to the nagualistic ideas and customs which Eduard Seler mentions in his monograph /65/ on Michuacan /Michoacán/ (326), while plant names are

326. Seler, 1908, pp. 104/05.

also included under the same aspect by the Surára and Pakidáí. The name "nagual," according to Seler, is derived from the Aztec word naualli = disguise (327). In place of nagualism, however, the

327. Seler, 1904, pp. 75/76.

technical term "tonalism" may also be used (Aztec tonalli = someone's destiny, fate, soul, spirit...) (328).

328. Haekel, 1958, p. 45.

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On the day of the name-giving the children are given a tonsure such as is worn by all adults of both sexes. It is shaved off with the sharpened side of a split piece of reed (taquara -- Guadua sp.). Simultaneously they are attired for the first time in the hip cord of cotton or plant fibers, which they may then never remove up to the end of their lives, not even while bathing or during sleep. The cord must, of course, be renewed occasionally, but this is done in all secrecy. At the time of the donning of the hip cord by little boys, the penis is tied up, with the preputium held fast under the cord by means of a loop (Ill. 22). From now on the penis must no longer hang down, for this would be an offense against good form. On festive occasions a belt of cotton is also tied around children (see pp. 64 ff.).

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and after that a small celebration takes place. Later the women do not make any arrangements for concealing the monthly bleeding from the eyes of the other /67/ members of the tribe, including the children. They do avoid walking about a great deal during these days, and, if the blood flows too copiously, they sit on the bank of the nearby river or brook.

1) Initiation rites for young men

All young men who have reached the age of approximately 20 years must submit to an initiation rite. It always takes place at the beginning of the dry season, between October and December, halfway between their winter quarters and the large, open maloka where the two tribes spend the summer together and celebrate the great festival in memory of the dead. In an intermediate camp of this type (for a description of the intermediate camp of the Surara, see p. 23) two young men are always trained for two months by the chief and an experienced helper (Hewemão and his brother Kurikayawō among the Surara; Karenauō and the war chief Poréhiwō among the Pakidai) in all matters of religion, magic, mythology, curing the sick, and tribal tradition. Only after that are they regarded as full members of their community and from then on may independently undertake cures and prayers. It should be mentioned that for each sickness there are definite melodies, texts, and dance steps. The same is true of the prayers with which the individual men address the gigantic animal and plant spirits (hekurá, see p. 200) before and after a journey, after slaying a large game animal, before planting a roça (forest clearing), after a successful harvest, etc. All these magic practices, however, may take place only in the snuff-powder intoxication (see p. 201).

During the training the candidates may not speak to any member of the tribe; during this time they are regarded as dead and after two months achieve an initiatory rebirth. Purely externally, one recognizes the two candidates by their body painting, which consists of six vertical serpentine lines drawn with urucú on abdomen and chest. These lines are a symbolic representation of the surucucu (Lachesis muta L.), the most dangerous

/71 cont. /

765 Shortly before sundown a bright, blazing fire was kindled
with the help of the fire-drill, and the funeral pyre was set afire
765 with it. Then the men blew the snuff into each other's noses,
787 and after a few minutes they were in a state of intoxication, dur-
296 ing which they danced, singing and screaming, around the flames
that leaped up over the dead man. This was the appeal to the
hekura who are supposed to help the soul of the dead on its journey
[782] to the moon (see pp.199/201). The chief uttered his prayers of
supplication in a loud voice, and all the other men joined in
the chorus. Meanwhile the men kept blowing snuff into each
other's noses, so that their ecstasy constantly increased and finally
reached an unimaginable climax when the fire took possession of
the skeleton. It no longer seemed to be human beings who, howl-
ing, stamping, and gesticulating, now stormed around the pyre.
They seemed to have taken leave of their senses, and, as a result
of the snuff-intoxication, they probably actually were in another
world. To me, the sight was like a nightmare and made me think
[794] of paintings by Hieronymus Bosch. The wandering of the soul of
[795] the dead existing in the bones, accompanied by the tree-soul, had
begun, and the hekura paved the way for them. Meanwhile, night
had fallen, and the moon, which I suddenly noticed in the sky in
its full size between the crowns of the trees, seemed to be waiting
for its new inhabitant. In spite of the heat, which was increased
[123] by the fire of the funeral pyre, cold shudders ran down my spine,
and an indescribable feeling of terror clutched at my heart.

Though I had not taken any snuff-powder at this ceremony, I, too,
was in a veritable drunken fever. Never before, neither in church
nor in a theater, had I experienced a scene as grandiose as the
one here in the nocturnal forest of Amazonia.

This death ceremony continued until dawn. After midnight,
however, only a few men, whose duty it was at the same time to
keep the funeral pyre burning, were still dancing and singing. The
other warriors lay exhausted on the ground and slept. Occasionally
one of the dancers was nudged. He got up immediately, had snuff
blown into his nose, and danced around the pyre, singing, while
another lay down to sleep. Finally, only two men were still

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343 (cont.)

Richard Schomburgk points out that their body painting in wartime differs from that of peacetimes. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, page 322).

[276] spend the night quietly, while a few scouts reconnoiter the position. At dawn the warriors blow large quantities of snuff into each other's noses and then, completely unfettered, but in all [277] silence they storm the hostile maloka. Men and boys are killed ruthlessly with arrow shots, and the women and children are dragged off as captives. But the attackers, too, often have to suffer great losses, and it is said that they are sometimes put to flight.

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727 During my stay among the Surára, I heard of an attack by the Xiríana and allied warriors on a maloka of the Waiká on the Río Mapulau, a left tributary of the upper Demini (see p. 16). On this occasion, as I was told, all the Waiká men were killed, and the women and girls were brought to the Xiríana maloka as captives. The head of the Waiká chief, as the war chief of the Surára added, was then adorned with feathers by the Xiríana and left standing in front of their community house for several days 727 as a trophy; after that it was thrown away (344). The night after

344. The Hório and Ebidoso in the northeastern Chaco, who occasionally behave in a similar way, are to be referred to as a parallel (Baldus, 1931, p. 73).

the attack there was a big dance festival, in which all the men took part. Before that they took snuff and prayed to the hekura [276] (see p.199), in order to thank them for the victory. [277]

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/91 cont./

821 of thirst and weakness, while plants often wither. For this reason, and especially out of fear of the shadows, the sun's rays are regarded as dangerous. Therefore, tasks for which one must expose himself to the direct radiation of the sun, for example, forest clearing, cultivation of fields, and house construction, are preferably undertaken in cloudy or even rainy weather. In the latter case, there is even a direct /92/ connection with the moon. A large tree stands on this celestial body, in the middle of the open maloka. When Poré shakes it, the wind rises first, and after that rain falls. The aversion of the Surara and Pakidai to the merciless sun's rays of the equatorial zone has a further, matter-of-fact explanation, for in former times, as pure hunters and gatherers, they practically never came out of the eternal twilight of the primeval forest.

821 The awe of Poré and the moon is so great that the Indians do not dare pray personally to this united Supreme Deity. Serras /serras/ -- peatile -- as well as gigantic animal and plant spirits -- hekurá -- (446), who live on them and are characterized

446. This word is derived from hetumisse = heaven and he = head, above.

by supernatural qualities, are the mediators. The serras are well suited for this, because they are situated between the earth, on the one hand, and the moon and sun on the other. They are regarded as higher divine helpers, who, after Poré and Perimbó, are the mightiest. At the same time they are regarded as the masters of all the animal and plant spirits living on them. Their power is much greater than that of the sun because there is, of course, only one sun whereas there are innumerable serras. Their attitude toward Poré and Perimbó, however, is not always a loyal one. Usually they are on their side, to be sure, but if there is occasionally a quarrel between them, it may happen that they ally themselves with the sun for a time. The united Supreme Deity has taken precautions, however, and considered any possible

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Waiká

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455. (cont.)

longer exist as a tribal unit, it is believed that civilized people and hostile Indian tribes came out of the inflamed and swollen calves of the first man, Aipuku (Oberg, 1953, p. 108).

773 the polyandrous feature in common, for the woman had a boy
134 (Surára and Pakidáí) (see p. 247) or several children (Waiká)(456)

456. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

by the men.

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/94/ In the religious world of thought of the Waiká one also finds ideas that are very contradictory. Thus, "Omaua" is regarded, on the one hand, as the Supreme Being and creator of the earth and of mankind, and, on the other hand, is thought of as an actual enemy of the Waiká who is closely linked with alien tribes in the west and with the whites, as well as with their pernicious influences, diseases, puzzling cultural possessions (motor, gasoline, etc.) (457). Furthermore, it is noteworthy

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457. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

that in white and black magic "Omaua" is directly invoked (458)

458. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

(the Surára and Pakidáí communicate with Poré/Perimbó only through intermediaries), and that there lives with him a cannibalistic creature, "Omayali," which, according to Zerries, presumably represents a hypostasis of the former (459). He believes,

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459. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

however, that "Omaua-Omayali" is an import from another culture

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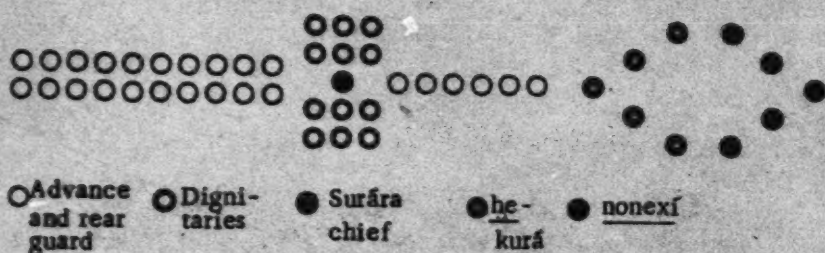
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Fig. 29. Arrangement of the dancers on the occasion of a ceremony of the festival in memory of the dead.

retreat and defended themselves with all their might against the advancing "hekurá." Behind these ten "fighting" dancers there followed six men in a row, each with an arrow in his hand, the advance guard of the chief. At a slight distance they were joined by the Surára chief Hewemão, flanked on either side by six men forming a double row. These men were also prominent personalities; thus, among them there were the two younger brothers of the chief, the war chief of the Surára, the chief and war chief of the Pakidái, as well as especially excellent older warriors of both tribes. Following them, as a rear guard, in a double-row formation, came the rest of the men, young men, and boys. All who took part in the procession moved in the customary dance steps, two forward and one back, during which they sang in chorus. Now and then Chief Hewemão would utter a hissing sound, whereupon all the participants grouped themselves in the center of the plaza around the large clay plate with snuff-powder. Here the chief, in a singing voice, prayed to the hekurá and asked them to intercede with Poré/Perimbó, so that the festival would be vouchsafed a happy and successful course. Then the men blew new snuff-powder into each other's noses, whereupon the dance would continue in the manner described above. This dancing and singing lasted, except for the brief interruptions at the clay plate, until 6:00 in the morning.

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769 in the ear lobes were adorned with colorful feather ornaments
 [302] (see pp. 93/95). Moreover, they had all glued into their hair
 [301] the white down feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.),
 the dreaded carrier of sickness (see p. 211) (Ill. 43). They
 769 made mighty leaps, then bent their knees, turned around
 535 several times in between, threw their arrows into the air and
 533 caught them again. After that they fell into a dance in step,
 during which they sang. But this dance was constantly interrupted by wild charges and rousing shouts, which were supposed to drive the nonexf out of the maloka and show them how dangerous it was to come here at all. The others present were enthusiastically watching this performance from their hearths. For the
 [302] occasion of the festival all the men, women, and children had
 [292] likewise painted themselves and in part donned the cotton belts;
 [301] moreover, the men wore their upper-arm ornaments of feathers (Ills. 9-11).

769 After this two-hour dance performance a particularly solemn ceremony took place, the blessing of the preserved bone ashes of deceased tribesmen. For this purpose two leading personalities of each of the two tribes sat down in a square formation before the chief's hut. The Surára chief Hewemão was squatting in such a way that he faced the maloka courtyard. To the right and left of him, somewhat to the side and forward, squatted the Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, and Hewemão's brother, Kurikayawõ, respectively, and opposite Hewemão, Poréhiwõ, the war chief of the Pakidái, had his place. In front of the latter were arranged ten small jamaru vessels (jamaru = Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda) filled with bone ashes. Behind them stood one empty gourd bowl and one filled with urucú. The Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, on the other hand, had two large empty jamaru vessels standing in front of him.

Poréhiwõ now poured bone ashes from one after another of the small jamaru vessels into the empty gourd bowls, added a little urucú, mixed the two with his hands, and gave the bowl to Karenauõ, who each time poured the contents into one of the larger jamaru vessels. While the two Pakidái were silently performing their work, Hewemão was praying in a half-singing

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/105 cont./

769 voice to the hekurá and constantly passed his hands from his head
 [182] to his feet. His brother Kurikayawō repeated each of his words
 [188] and imitated the gestures (511). Around the four men, who were

511. This was again the symbolic trans-
 mission of the prayers from the hekurá
 to Poré/Perimbó (see also p. 228).

now officiating as priests, crouched red-painted warriors whose
 head hair was completely covered with the down feathers of the
gavião-real. Whenever the Pakidai chief poured a new mixture
 of bone ashes and urucú into a larger jamaru vessel, he always
 pulled a few feathers from the heads of the warriors and threw
 them in (512). The closest relatives of the late deceased sat

[51] 512. There is defensive magic connected
 with this. For if the men, in the subsequent
 ceremonial drinking of the banana soup
 mixed with bone ashes, swallow these
 feathers, they and their families are
 better protected against sickness.

behind the warriors and sobbed heart-rendingly, especially the
 [182] women. Their tears /106/ flowed uninterruptedly, and at the
 same time they prayed in a low, singing cadence. When the
 bone ashes of another jamaru vessel were mixed with urucú by
 Poréhiwō, their sobbing and their prayers changed to high, shrill
 tones. This made no impression upon the medicine men, how-
 ever, who imperturbably went on with their activity. The
 [302] mourners were surrounded by a circle of standing warriors painted
 [301] red and adorned with upper-arm feathers, who held bows and
 arrows in their hands and faced outward. It was their task to shield
 the ceremony against harmful outside influences. Behind them
 [522] stood numerous male spectators, who followed the proceedings
 with interest, to be sure, but without inner participation, for
 at times they laughed and joked.

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When the mixing of bone ashes, which lasted about two hours, was finished, Poréhiwō returned the half-empty little jamaru vessels to the relatives, who, amid lamentations, took them for further safekeeping. Then a solemn procession began, in which, however, the Surára chief did not take part. Karenauō, the Pakidái chief, strode ahead, followed by Poréhiwō and Kurikayawō, each of whom held in his hand one of the large jamaru vessels filled with bone ashes, a little urucú, and a few down-feathers of the gavião-real; all three were singing prayers. Behind them, weeping and lamenting, walked the closest relatives, who carried the small jamaru vessels. The warriors participating in the ceremony formed the end of the train.

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This procession, which walked around the maloka courtyard several times, came to an end, after half an hour in front of the chief's hut, with a prayer sung in unison.

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Meanwhile night had descended and most of the members of the two tribes were lying in their hammocks, sitting around the fire, or calling on each other, singly or in family groups, in order to chat. Loud, happy laughter often resounded. Opposite the hut of the Surára chief, however, six warriors who wore the feathers of the gavião-real in their hair had kindled three blazing fires, upon which, in several black, round-bottomed clay vessels (see p. 115) they cooked banana soup until midnight. During this time a medicine-man helper who carried a bow and arrow in his hand ran around the outer circle of the maloka courtyard, singing loudly, and requested the assistance of the hekurá for the success of the soup. After that, general quiet set in; only two men made their rounds in front of the maloka, as they did every night, in order to warn the inhabitants, if necessary, of a hostile attack (513).

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513. The war chief divides up the watches each evening. The warriors have a feeling about when their time is up and they must waken their successors; as a rule this is done after two or three hours.

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On the next day, April 6, 1956, the festival reached its climax. Toward 9:00 the Surára chief, his brother Kurikayawō, and the chief and war chief of the Pakidái sat down around the pots of banana soup, in front of which also stood the two jamaru vessels with the bone ashes of the deceased, and all the other

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male members of the tribe sat around them. The Surára chief started to pray loudly, whereupon a rather long choral song was struck up. Then he poured the bone ashes into all the soup pots, mixed them thoroughly with his hands, and scooped out a calabash full for himself, which he emptied hastily and to the last drop. Thereupon the Pakidái chief, the brother of Hewemāo, and the war chiefs of both tribes drank, followed by all the older and younger men, including the larger boys, who drank last (514). As a result of this ceremonial drinking of the

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514. Hewemāo also offered my servant and me a full calabash each, along with the war chiefs. When we had drunk them, he slapped our backs appreciatively and said that we were now true Sarára.

bone ashes, it is believed, the strength and spirit of the deceased will remain within the tribe and contribute to its vigor.

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Following this drink, a prayer of thanksgiving was sung.

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Then the men, youths, and boys together ate large quantities

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/107/ of the roasted tapir meat, as well as manioc flat-cakes, and after that the women handed them calabashes full of the refreshing drink made of pupunha fruits.

Invigorated and fortified with the powers of the deceased, the men were now able to proceed with the most strenuous part of the festival. But before this began, half of them blackened their faces and bodies with soot, which they scraped off of their cooking pots. Meanwhile others had again set in the center of the maloka circle the large clay plate upon which they poured the brownish snuff-powder -- epená --, out of bamboo containers, and in front of the plate they laid a large number of

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Between the patapšanomão festivals the Surara and Pakidai have only a few other festivities in the course of the year. These are but small celebrations, which, for example, take place after the two-months' training of two young men as medicine-man helpers, after a successful war-expedition, upon moving into a newly erected maloka, and in connection with the second menstruation of a girl. The latter has more of an intimate character, for only families of relatives and friends take part in it.

4. Magic for Sickness, Hunting, Love, and Rain

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a) Magic for sickness:

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A magic powder is occasionally prepared from the bark ashes of a wild mimosa species (Mimosa acacioides?) -- hekuráhihená -- (see also p. 192) and the bone powder of the gaviao-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.). In the evening, shortly before twilight sets in, if a gaviao-real happens to be flying by or is sitting on a tree, the chief blows this powder in the direction of the bird. The latter receives it and with it transmits sickness to a specific hostile tribe.

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b) Hunting magic:

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The evening before a proposed hunting expedition the hunter takes snuff-powder and prays for about 2-3 hours to the hekurá (see pp. 200/201), whereby through them he requests Poré and Perimbó (see p. 197) for a successful outcome. Then, before he sets out the next morning, he paints serpentine lines on his face and body with urucú. If his wife accompanies him, she also applies this design, and the snout and feet of a dog that is taken along are painted with the same color. This is supposed to increase the luck of the hunt and is at the same time bound up with defensive magic against possible dangers threatened by poisonous snakes and jaguars.

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If the hunter accompanied by his wife has slain small game or a bird, the wife carries the hunting booty into the community /111/ house. If the man was alone, he brings the animal only to the entrance of his dwelling. It is taken inside by his wife or by another man. The same is true for big game, for example, a tapir, from which a few pieces of meat are first taken along: the rest is fetched later by friendly fellow tribesmen. Thus, the hunter may always carry his booty to the entrance of the maloka, but he may never go inside with it. He must also leave the evisceration of the animal to other men. Subsequently he may roast the meat, to be sure, but after it has been prepared, he is forbidden to eat the first morsel. When he has finished his meal, he is obliged to pray anew by way of the hekurá to Poré and Perimbó, for the latter demand that one thank them for the hunting booty. If the hunter observes all these rules, the united Supreme Being and the hekurá will always be well-disposed toward him and will always provide for a successful outcome of the hunt.

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Among many other tribes of South America there are the same or similar conceptions of hunting magic. I can here refer to Zerries, who has gathered together the pertinent source material and made a comparative study of it (537) (538). This

537. Zerries, 1951.

538. Zerries, 1954a.

shows that urucú is almost always used for the red coloring before the hunt. Métraux, however, mentions that the ancient Mocovi in the Gran Chaco smeared the snouts of their dogs with jaguar blood (539). From this Zerries draws the justifiable

539. Métraux, 1944, p. 283.

conclusion that urucú is a substitute for blood (540), which

540. Zerries, 1954a, p. 22.

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789 it is not needed, for example, before hunting expeditions or
 [821] during a tribal migration. In this case all the men, women,
 [302] and children paint their bodies with a confusion of serpentine
 lines, in order by this means to command the rain to stop. If
 526 this does not help, a tug of war -- toótoto -- with a thick liana
 789 is arranged. This liana personifies the sucuriyu (Eunectes murinus) --
 [796] uaikonyá -- which, as a strong water-animal, has the power to
 induce Poré to stop shaking the rain tree (see p. 199). At first
 only two groups of red-painted men engage in the tug of war.
 But if the rain simply will not abate, red-painted women also
 take part in it. Their participation is supposed to increase the
 [796] pressure on the sucuriyu, for it is assumed that it is of the female
 sex and thus particularly well-disposed toward women. Such a
 [857] tug of war often goes on for several hours. In most cases, be-
 sides adults, I also saw children who imitated it with a thin liana.

526 If it happens to rain while the sun is shining, the Surára
 789 and Pakidái believe that a serious fight has broken out between
 821 the moon, from which the rain comes, and the sun. Then all
 the members of the tribe feel obligated to come to the aid of
 their Supreme Being, the moon. They do this by again forming
 two mixed groups of men and women -- one symbolically rep-
 represents the population of the moon and the other that of the sun --
 who throw wet earth at each other; this "battle" is called xejejó.

● 782 5. A Special Way of Showing Gratitude to Poré and Perimbó

In connection with the festival in memory of the dead (see
 pp. 224 ff.) after the training period of the two medicine-man
 helpers (see pp. 143 f.), after the curing of the sick (see pp.
 211 ff.), and other magic ceremonies, the people want to thank
Poré and Perimbó (see p. 197) in a special way, outside of the
 customary prayers which take place through the hekurá (see pp.
 199/201). For this purpose a large calabash is filled with earth,
 [824] into which, in a circle, are stuck red-painted twigs of the
 imbauba tree (Cecropia palmata Wild.), which are connected

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● 1782 with threads of Bromelia fibers. Such threads are also drawn
 (824) crisscross over the sticks, and on them are glued down-feathers
 (237) of the gavião-real (Thraupis harpyia L.). The structure --
akuanohé --, which women and girls are not permitted to see,
 gives the effect of a man's head, in the hair of which are glued
 down-feathers of the gavião-real. By order of the chief, several
 warriors take this calabash into the forest and set it down in a
 particular spot.

6. Birds as Transmitters of Messages

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202 On May 21, 1956, in his maloka on the Cachoeira dos
 Índios on the upper Rio Aracá, a Surára man, Honohomá, was
 engaged in a loud monologue which started about 4:00 in the
 morning and lasted until about 6:00; during this he was lying in
 his hammock. As to the meaning of this apparent monologue,
 (114) my little interpreter Jibeauwō afterwards gave me the following
 explanation: When Honohomá woke up, he heard the singing
 of the little bird kaukaumá, a japim (Cacicus cela L.); in which
 at the time, however, the soul of Poréhiwō, the war chief of the
 Pakidái, was to be found. The latter was living with his tribe
 in the /113/ maloka on the middle Demini. The soul in the
 little bird said that the Pakidái, after the festival in memory of the
 dead, had arrived safely at their communal house. At the same
 time it reported the course of the journey in detail, the hunting
 successes, and the planting of new banana trees and pupunha
 palms. Whenever the little bird interrupted its song for a time,
 Honohomá would tell it about how the Surára were getting along.

According to the belief of the two tribes, the little japim
 is a transmitter of messages, who reports illness and death, as
 well as military encounters with hostile tribes.

/205 cont. /

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It is also dangerous to lose an arrow when one is hunting. That is why they only shoot the arrow when, should they miss the target, they can easily retrieve it. In spite of these precautions, the arrow is sometimes lost or remains hanging from an inaccessible tree. Then the man, in order not to lose his aim, puts it under the protection of Omao, to whom he speaks, saying: "Omaúawan ipa šlaka toldapala!" which means: "Omao, watch over my arrow!"

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To lose one's aim or luck in hunting may arise from a technical reason or a supernatural cause. The former is due to a weakening of the body brought about by sickness or other causes which influence sight or the strength of the arm. If it is due to this latter cause, the hunter knows the remedy. He goes to the forest and searches for a tree with hard, heavy wood; he cuts a piece and sets fire to it and collects the smoke, which he applies to the cuts inflicted on his arm. If he bears the pain without touching the hurt arm with the other hand and does not shout, his muscles will once again recover their lost strength and the hunter will recover his luck and good aim.

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If the hunter returns without any game, it may be because Omao did not favor him, and this is the supernatural cause of his failure.

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According to our informants from the Erebató, a good hunter speaks frequently with Omao, for without his protection he will not be lucky. For this reason he says to him: "Omao awayf ipa šálawa hadu kapálama!" which is translated as: "Omao, draw my game out into the open!"

Worse than being unlucky is to lose one's life in a hunting accident, and in order to implore the protection of the other world, the hunter prays, "Omao šátoría paláí!" that is to say: "Omao, protect me!"

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/206/ Of course, all these precautions are useless if the hunter has not learned the art of hunting. He must know how the various animals live and how to identify their tracks. If these latter should be fresh, he orders his dog to follow the track of the game; the success of a Sanema hunter depends in great

/236 cont. /

539 places (26).

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26. Taking into account what has already been pointed out as a prayer directed to Omao in order that he allow to come out those animals which he would judge as surplus in the animal kingdom, the young man's behavior can be judged as an offense against God because he would not yield to his will.

The father of the young hunter was at home sitting in front of the fire. He was a sablí. Suddenly he saw a swarm of butterflies approaching to put out the fire. A great cloud of smoke arose. The sablí heard the prolonged and penetrating howls of the Great Fox who has various members of his family living in the river. When they come out of the waters, they do not only kill the hunter who made them leave their "house," but all of his family as well. The butterflies also live in the river and are the friends of the Great Fox, whom they help to kill bad and guilty hunters. After putting out the fire they attack the family of the bad hunter, and, if the latter happens to be at home, they suck out his blood from the corners of his eyes. The sablí knew all about this and the grave danger which his son and his whole family were in, but he also knew a means of defending them against the butterflies. He caught some of them and spat on them. The butterflies immediately ceased their attack on him and died. The Great Fox kept quiet because he knew that his victim was in the forest under the protection of a powerful shaman. In this way the young hunter was saved from the teeth of the Great Fox,¹ who devours his victims and swallows them without chewing.

KASMAI

Kasmái is a man who lives in the river. Every six months, when there is a new moon, he comes out of the water to live for three days among men. This pleases them, and they regale him with a dance celebration. Kasmái enjoys himself very much at these celebrations. He comes up out of the river with his body

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136 know the world, a few excursions into those terrible waters where the very absence of peril means, for these lowland monsters, the greatest peril of all.

* 123 The Samatari had now got quite used to having us in their midst and their primitive fear of us—the emotion which gives rise to an instinctive urge to
[609] kill—had disappeared utterly. The fear strangers evoke in them is twofold: they are afraid of being killed, and of having their womenfolk raped. We hadn't killed anybody, and the women did not attract us. We left them in peace, even when they were driven by their insatiable professional curiosity to inspect our private parts.

From being merely tolerated, therefore, we soon passed quite naturally to the stage of having a rather more positive value placed upon us. Soon we were superior beings who had chosen their tribe as the privileged recipients of our friendship. This was without a doubt an auspicious sign for them, and one they must profit by. For the moment the profit which the medicine-man had in mind related only to matters appertaining to magic and moral spheres and had nothing to do with our persons. We ourselves, indeed, were not called upon to play an active part.

* 123 Ceremonies of propitiation were enacted at night. The medicine-man would sit in his hammock with his feet dangling over the fire, invoking prosperity for his own people and ruin and death for their enemies (who were doing the same thing, in the same spirit, at the same moment, in some other corner of the forest). But the Samatari had us with them: the effect of their invocations would travel far and fast, like the explosion of the *boomall*.

* 123 The medicine-man would suddenly sit up in his hammock as if he was cold, and after burbling something incomprehensible, slowly shout out the name of a fruit—for instance, *monama*. The last syllable was held for some time, with modulations that reminded me of an echo rebounding from hill to hill. When this solo was over the men's chorus—they were all sitting round the fire in their hammocks, too—would take up the refrain, reciting a long litany full of mournful verses. According to the brief explanations given by Luis Antonio, the gist of it was: much *monama* for the Samatari and none for their enemies. Let hunger strike them down. They are bad men. A moment's silence would